

DECLASSIFIED
PA/HO, Department of State
E.O. 12958, as amended
Date: 6-20-05

DRAFT JOINT COMMUNIQUE

The Visit

President Richard Nixon of the United States of America visited the People's Republic of China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China from _____ to _____.

President Nixon met with Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Chinese Communist Party on _____ for a (_____) hour) review of world affairs (and met with Chairman Mao Tse-tung again for further talks on (____)). President Nixon held extensive discussions with Premier Chou En-lai on the normalization of relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China, as well as on other matters of interest between the two countries.

Accompanying President Nixon on his visit and participating in many of his talks were U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers and Assistant to the President Henry A. Kissinger. In addition to Premier Chou En-lai, taking part in the talks on the Chinese side were (____). President Nixon, Premier Chou En-lai, and the members of their two delegations had a wide ranging exchange of views. Their talks were detailed, frank and at all times friendly.

(Also taking part in the talks on the Chinese side were:)

(Also taking part in the talks on the U.S. side were:)

President Nixon, in addition to visiting Peking and viewing cultural, industrial, and agricultural sites in the vicinity of the capital city, also

toured _____ and _____ where he viewed similar places of interest. In all of these places he met with a warm and friendly reception and in turn expressed the friendship of the American people for the Chinese people.

General Principles of Bilateral Relations

The two leaders acknowledged that the long-standing differences between the two countries not only in their bilateral relations but in their perspectives of international problems would not quickly or easily be resolved. At the same time, the two sides agreed that the visit of President Nixon to China and the hospitable reception accorded him demonstrate that countries, irrespective of their social systems, can work together toward resolution of differences in the interest of international peace and security.

Aware of what divides them but equally conscious of their responsibilities toward all nations to cooperate in building a just and lasting peace, the President and the Premier agreed to conduct their international affairs on the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in the internal affairs of others, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. They undertook to approach the elimination of the differences between their countries through peaceful negotiations, and, pending final resolutions, to renounce the threat or use of force in settling matters at issue between their two countries.

They recognized that there were also significant specific areas of mutual interest between their two countries. Both wish to reduce the danger of military conflict. And each seeks better understanding and mutual benefit through all forms of increased international contact including trade as well as cultural, scientific and technical exchange. They agreed that the broadening of mutual areas of interest would contribute to their shared objective of working toward the normalization of relations. Each would continue to seek out additional areas of cooperation with the other.

The President and the Premier declared that neither of their countries seeks hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region, and that each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony.

Both President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai emphasized that neither was prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third country or to enter into agreements or understandings directed at other states. At the same time they agreed that progress toward the normalization of relations between their two countries in itself represented progress toward a secure and lasting peace and was therefore in the interests of all countries. The two sides agreed that it would be against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major power to collude with another against a third, or to behave in such a way as to suggest that it had an exclusive sphere of interest.

General View of the World Situation

During the talks, both sides noted with regret that turmoil still exists in many parts of the world and that the danger of military conflict remains. They expressed the hope that, on the basis of the principles enumerated above, potential conflicts could be averted and that steps to eliminate their causes could be initiated. To this end, President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai clarified their positions with respect to a number of areas where they might contribute toward a more peaceful environment.

Premier Chou En-lai and President Nixon also clarified their respective positions concerning Taiwan. Premier Chou En-lai stated that Taiwan is an integral part of the People's Republic of China, and that the future of Taiwan is therefore an internal matter. President Nixon stated that the U.S. acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Straits maintain there is but one China. The United States Government takes note of that position and will support efforts to reach an equitable and peaceful resolution of the ultimate relationship of Taiwan to the mainland. Premier Chou En-lai observed that the People's Republic of China has not chosen force of arms as a means of resolving the issue.

Bilateral Relations

President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai expressed awareness that the objective of achieving restoration of full relations between their two countries would require time and patience on both sides. They resolved that efforts to reach this goal would continue, building upon the gains achieved during President Nixon's visit to the People's Republic of China.

They agreed therefore that negotiations on outstanding issues would be carried on by means of further periodic visits to Peking by senior representatives of the United States Government, who would remain for the length of time necessary to clarify the positions of both sides.

The President stated that the United States Government was prepared to conclude with the People's Republic of China any arms control agreement that it has concluded with other major powers.

Pending the normalization of relations, President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai agreed that a number of concrete steps would be taken to maintain contacts and to improve the understanding between the Chinese and American peoples and between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China. These steps will include:

- The facilitation of exchanges between the American and Chinese peoples of a scientific, technical, commercial, cultural, educational, and personal nature.
- The facilitation of the travel of newsmen to each country on a reciprocal basis, including the early establishment of resident press bureaus in each country.
- The two sides agreed to reduce obstacles to mutual commerce, and the President specifically declared the intention of his Government to ease further some U.S. trade restrictions.

The President and the Premier were gratified to have this opportunity after so many years without contact between the leaders of their two countries,

to discuss world problems and to present authoritatively to one another their respective views on a great variety of issues. Both leaders are convinced that such an exchange of views has in itself contributed to a better understanding and a reduction in tension between their two countries.

The President expressed his appreciation for the gracious hospitality shown him and his party by the Government and people of the People's Republic of China.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE (Tentative Draft)

President Richard Nixon of the United States of America visited the People's Republic of China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China from _____ to _____, 1972. Accompanying the President on his visit were (Mrs. Nixon,) U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers and Assistant to the President Dr. Henry A. Kissinger.

President Nixon met with Chairman Mao Tse tung of the Communist Party of China on _____ and _____, and the two sides held conversation for _____ hours and had an exchange of views on Sino-U.S. relations and world affairs.

During the visit, talks were held between President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai. The two sides held extensive, earnest and frank discussions on the normalization of relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, as well as on other matters of interest to both sides.

Also taking part in the talks on the Chinese side were;

Also taking part in the talks on the U.S. side were:

President Nixon and his party visited Peking and viewed cultural, industrial and agricultural sites, and they also toured _____ where they viewed similar places of interest.

During their meetings and talks, the leaders of China and the

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United States reviewed the international situation in which important changes are taking place and great turmoil exists and expounded their respective positions. The Chinese side pointed out that wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want to make revolution -- this has become the irresistible trend of history. It must be recognized that the people of all countries have the right to choose their social systems according to their own wishes and settle the affairs of their respective countries as independent and sovereign nations. The peoples' revolutionary struggles are just, and they deserve sympathy and support and absolutely permit of no foreign intervention. The Chinese people firmly support the struggles of all the oppressed people and nations for freedom and liberation and against oppression and racial discrimination and firmly support the people's struggles to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their own countries and oppose foreign aggression, interference, control and subversion. All foreign troops should be withdrawn to their own countries. All nations, big or small, should be equal; big nations should not bully the small and strong nations should not bully the weak. China will never be a superpower, and it opposes hegemony and power politics of any kind. The U.S. side declared that

There are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. However, the two sides agreed that relations between states should be conducted on the principles

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of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence, and that on this basis, international disputes should be settled without resorting to the use or threat of force. It would be against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major country to collude with another against other countries, or to behave in such a way as to suggest that it had an exclusive sphere of interest.

The two sides stated that neither was prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings directed at other states.

The leaders of the two countries held that the Indochina question, especially the Viet Nam question, is the most urgent question for the relaxation of tension in the Far East. The Chinese side stated that the Chinese Government fully supports the seven-point proposal for the peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam question put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, that the Chinese people pledge themselves to provide a powerful backing for the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, that Chinese territory forever remains the reliable rear area of the three Indochinese peoples and that the Chinese people are prepared to undertake the greatest national

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sacrifices and firmly support the three Indochinese peoples in fighting to the end for the attainment of their goal. The U.S. side stated
... .. The two sides agreed that the basic principle guiding the settlement of the Indochina question is: All foreign troops must withdraw from the region of Indochina, and the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia should be left to settle their own questions by themselves free from foreign interference.

The two sides noted that eighteen years have already elapsed since the signing of the Korean Armistice Agreement, yet the Korean question remains unsettled. The Chinese Government fully supports the eight-point programme for the peaceful unification of Korea put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on April 12, 1971; the U.S. troops should withdraw from south Korea completely; it is impermissible to introduce the Japanese militarist forces into south Korea; and the "U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" should be abolished. The U.S. side stated

The Chinese side expressed its firm opposition to the revival and outward expansion of Japanese militarism, maintained that the United States should withdraw all its troops and all its nuclear and military bases from Japan and return Okinawa unconditionally, and held that an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan may have such

armed forces as are necessary for its self-defence. The U.S. side stated:

The leaders of the two countries expressed deep concern over the tension in the south Asian subcontinent. The two sides opposed the interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan from any quarters by exploiting the situation in East Pakistan. The two sides hoped that India and Pakistan could resolve their differences through peaceful negotiations. All attempts to disturb peace and use armed force are contrary to the interests of the people of this region and should be condemned.

The two sides reviewed the long-standing serious disputes between China and the United States and agreed that the Taiwan question is the crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations between the two countries. The Chinese side reaffirmed its position; The Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal Government of China; Taiwan is a part of Chinese territory which has long been returned to the motherland; the liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair in which no other country has the right to interfere; and the U.S. troops must withdraw from Taiwan. The Chinese Government firmly opposes any activities which aim at the creation of "one China, two governments", "two Chinas", "one China, one Taiwan", an "independent Taiwan" or advocate that "the status of Taiwan remains to be determined." The U.S. side state: The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Straits maintain there is but one China; the United States

will encourage the Chinese to settle this internal question by themselves through peaceful negotiations; it will not carry out or support any activities aimed at separating Taiwan from China and will withdraw the U.S. troops and military installations in Taiwan after it has completed the withdrawal of all the U.S. armed forces from Indochina. The two sides held that the settlement of this crucial issue between China and the United States and the normalization of relations between the two countries are not only in the interests of the Chinese and American peoples but also conducive to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world.

The two sides are resolved to work for the attainment of this goal and have reached an understanding on certain steps that are to be taken. While effecting these steps, the U.S. Government will send senior representatives to Peking at unfixed intervals for concrete consultations.

The two sides agreed that pending the normalization of relations between the two countries, the Governments of the two countries would respectively take measures to facilitate the exchange of visits between the two peoples and their contacts in the scientific, technical, journalistic and cultural fields.

The two sides were gratified to have this opportunity, after so many years without contact between the leaders of their two countries, to present frankly to one another their respective views on a variety of issues. The two sides hoped that the gains achieved during this visit would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries.

President Nixon and his party expressed their appreciation for the

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gracious hospitality shown them by the Government and people of the
People's Republic of China.

DRAFT JOINT COMMUNIQUE

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President Nixon met with Chairman Mao Tse tung of the Communist Party of China on _____ and _____. The two leaders held conversation for _____ hours and had an exchange of views on Sino-U.S. relations and world affairs.

During the visit, further talks were held between President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai. The two sides held extensive, earnest and frank discussions on the normalization of relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, as well as on other matters of interest to both sides.

Also taking part in the talks on the Chinese side were:

Also taking part in the talks on the U.S. side were:

President Nixon and his party visited Peking and viewed cultural, industrial and agricultural sites, and they also toured _____ and _____ where they, continuing discussions with Chinese leaders, viewed similar places of interest.

During their meetings and talks, the leaders of China and the United States reviewed the international situation in which important changes are taking place and expounded their respective positions. The Chinese side stated its views as follows: Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want justice. It must be recognized that the people of all countries have the right to choose their social systems according to their own wishes, and settle the affairs of their respective countries as independent and sovereign nations. Foreign intervention is impermissible. The Chinese people firmly support the right of nations to safeguard their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and oppose foreign aggression, interference, control and subversion. All nations, big or small, should be equal; big nations should not bully the small and strong nations should not bully the weak. China will never be a superpower.

The U.S. side declared that peace in Asia and peace in the world required efforts both to reduce immediate tensions and to eliminate the basic causes of conflict. The U.S. side believes that the effort to reduce tension is served by improving communication between countries that have different world outlooks so as to lessen the risks of confrontation through accident, miscalculation, or misunderstanding. Such an effort requires that countries treat each other with mutual respect, not with censure, and with a willingness to compete peacefully letting performance be the

ultimate judge. Equality means that no country should claim infallibility and that each country will be prepared to re-examine its own attitudes for the common good. The U.S. side believes that the effort to erase the fundamental sources of conflict is served by building a just and secure peace, just because it fulfills the aspirations of peoples and nations for freedom and progress; secure because it removes the danger of foreign aggression. The U.S. supports individual freedom and social progress for all the peoples of the world, free of outside pressure or intervention.

There are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. However, the two sides, aware of what divides them but equally conscious of their responsibilities for world peace, agreed that:

-- countries, irrespective of their social systems, have a common interest in working toward a resolution of international differences in the interest of all mankind;

-- relations between states should be conducted on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of force;

-- it is against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major country to collude with another against other countries, or to behave in such a way as to suggest that it had an exclusive sphere of interest.

With these principles of international relations in mind the two sides stated that:

- both wish to reduce the danger of military conflict;
- neither seeks hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony;
- neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings directed at other states;
- progress toward the normalization of relations between the two countries is in the interests of all countries; and
- broadening of mutual areas of interest would contribute to their shared objective of working toward the normalization of relations.

The leaders of the two countries discussed the Indochina question. The Chinese side stated that this issue, especially the Vietnam question, is the most urgent question for the relaxation of tension in the Far East. The Chinese Government fully supports the seven-point proposal for the peaceful settlement of the Vietnam question put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the

Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples.

The U.S. side stated that the peoples of Indochina should be allowed to determine their destiny without outside intervention, that its constant primary objective has been a negotiated solution of the Indochina conflict to which end it had made a series of proposals; and that in the absence of a negotiated settlement it envisaged the ultimate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from the region consistent with the aim of true self-determination for each country of Indochina.

The two sides agreed that the basic principle guiding the settlement of the Indochina question is: All foreign troops should withdraw from each of the countries of Indochina, and the people of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia should be left to settle their own questions by themselves free from foreign interference.

The two sides noted that eighteen years have already elapsed since the signing of the Korean Armistice Agreement, yet there is still no permanent legal status for the Korean peninsula. The Chinese Government fully supports the eight-point program for the peaceful unification of Korea put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on April 12, 1971; declares that all foreign troops should withdraw from South Korea and not be replaced by any other foreign forces; and states that the "UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" should be abolished. The U.S. side stated that

its relations with the Republic of Korea were freely entered into by both sides and that existing commitments would be honored. The U.S. would support all efforts of the Republic of Korea to seek a relaxation of the tension and increased communication in the Korean peninsula.

The United States and the People's Republic of China agreed to offer any assistance to the two parties in Korea to reach a mutually acceptable peaceful solution and to consult with interested parties with a view toward replacing the 1953 armistice with an agreement formally ending hostilities.

The Chinese side expressed its firm opposition to the revival and outward expansion of Japanese militarism, maintained that the United States should withdraw all its troops and all its nuclear and military bases from Japan and held that an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan may have such armed forces as are necessary for its self-defense. The U.S. side stated that it placed the highest value on its friendly relations with Japan and that it would continue to honor its mutual defense treaty obligations. It was pointed out that these arrangements contribute effectively to the common goal of preventing a resurgence of traditional conflicts.

Both sides agreed that Japan is of cardinal importance to peace in Asia and that neither side should try to complicate the other side's

efforts to improve relations with Japan.

The leaders of the two countries expressed deep concern over the tension in the south Asian subcontinent and took the position that an armed conflict would be disastrous for the peoples of the area. The two sides therefore urged India and Pakistan to resolve their differences through peaceful negotiations. All attempts to disturb peace, use armed force, or interfere in another country's internal affairs are contrary to the interests of the people of this region, and should be condemned.

The two sides reviewed the long-standing serious dispute between China and the United States regarding Taiwan. The Chinese side reaffirmed its position: The Taiwan question is the crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations between the two countries; the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal Government in China; Taiwan is a part of Chinese territory which has long been returned to the motherland; the liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair in which no other country has the right to interfere; and the U.S. troops must withdraw from Taiwan. The Chinese Government firmly opposes any activities which aim at the creation of "one China, one Taiwan," "one China, two governments," "two Chinas," and "independent Taiwan" or advocate that "the status of Taiwan remains to be determined."

The U.S. side stated that the U.S. acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Straits maintain there is but one China. The

United States Government does not challenge that position. It will support efforts to reach an equitable and peaceful resolution of the ultimate relationship of Taiwan to the mainland. With respect to the U. S. military presence on Taiwan, the U. S. side stated that the U. S. forces would be progressively reduced as tensions in Asia diminished. This would be done without the abandonment of United States interest in a peaceful solution.

The two sides agreed that pending the normalization of relations between the two countries, the governments of the two countries would respectively take measures to facilitate the exchange of visits between the two peoples and their contacts in the scientific, technical, journalistic and cultural fields.

The two sides agreed that the U. S. Government will send a senior representative to Peking at irregular intervals for concrete consultations to further the normalization of relations and carry forward negotiations on outstanding issues of common interest.

The two sides were gratified to have this opportunity, after so many years without contact between the leaders of their two countries, to present frankly to one another their respective views on a variety of issues. The two sides expressed the hope that the gains achieved during this visit would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries. They believe that normalization of relations between the

two countries is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world.

President Nixon and his party expressed their appreciation for the gracious hospitality shown them by the Government and people of the People's Republic of China.

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PA/HO, Department of State
E.O. 12958, as amended
Date: 6-70-05

Second-Chinese Draft
10/25/- 7:15 P.M.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE (Tentative Draft)

President Richard Nixon of the United States of America visited the People's Republic of China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China from _____ to _____, 1972. Accompanying the President on his visit were (Mrs. Nixon,) U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers and Assistant to the President Dr. Henry A. Kissinger.

President Nixon met with Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Communist Party of China on _____ and _____. The two leaders held conversation for _____ hours and had an exchange of views on Sino-U.S. relations and world affairs.

During the visit, further talks were held between President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai. The two sides held extensive, earnest and frank discussions on the normalization of relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, as well as on other matters of interest to both sides.

Also taking part in the talks on the Chinese side were:

Also taking part in the talks on the U.S. side were:

President Nixon and his party visited Peking and viewed cultural, industrial and agricultural sites, and they also toured _____ and _____ where they, continuing discussions with Chinese leaders, viewed similar places of interest.

During their meetings and talks, the leaders of China and the United States reviewed the international situation in which important changes are taking place and great upheavals exist and expounded their respective positions.

The Chinese side stated that wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want to make revolution --- this has become the irresistible trend of history. It must be recognized that the people of all countries have the right to choose their social systems according to their own wishes and settle the affairs of their respective countries as independent and sovereign nations. All progressive actions which are in the interest of the people of one's own country and are supported by the people deserve sympathy and support and absolutely permit of no foreign intervention. All nations, big or small, should be equal; big nations should not

bully the small and strong nations should not bully the weak. China will never be a superpower and it opposes hegemony and power politics of any kind. The Chinese side stated that it firmly supports the struggles of all the oppressed people and nations for freedom and liberation and firmly supports the peoples' struggles to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their own countries and oppose foreign aggression, interference, control and subversion. All foreign troops should be withdrawn to their own countries. The Chinese side strongly expressed its firm support to the seven-point proposal for the peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam question put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples and its determination to support to the end the struggle of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia for the attainment of their goal; it firmly supports the eight-point programme for the peaceful unification of Korea put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on April 12, 1971 and the stand for the abolition of the

"U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea"; it firmly opposes the revival and outward expansion of Japanese militarism and firmly supports the Japanese people in their just struggle to build an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan; it firmly opposes anyone exploiting the situation in East Pakistan to interfere in Pakistan's internal affairs, provoke armed conflicts and undermine peace in the south Asian sub-continent.

The U.S. side stated that peace in Asia and peace in the world required efforts both to reduce immediate tensions and to eliminate the basic causes of conflict. The U.S. side believes that the effort to reduce tension is served by improving communication between countries that have different world outlooks so as to lessen the risks of confrontation through accident, miscalculation or misunderstanding. No country should claim infallibility and each country should be prepared to re-examine its own attitudes for the common good. The U.S. side believes that the effort to erase the fundamental sources of conflict is served by building a just and secure peace, just because it fulfills the aspirations of peoples and nations for freedom and progress, secure because it removes the danger of foreign aggression.

The U.S. supports individual freedom and social progress for all the peoples of the world, free of outside pressure or intervention. The U.S. side stated that the peoples of Indochina should be allowed to determine their destiny without outside intervention; and that in the absence of a negotiated settlement it envisaged the ultimate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from the region consistent with the aim of true self-determination for each country of Indochina. The relations between the United States and the Republic of Korea were freely entered into by both sides and the existing commitments would be honored. The U.S. would support all efforts of the Republic of Korea to seek a relaxation of the tension and increased communication in the Korean peninsula. The U.S. placed the highest value on its friendly relations with Japan and it would continue to honor its mutual defense treaty obligations. The U.S. urged India and Pakistan to resolve their differences through peaceful negotiations; All attempts to disturb peace, use armed force or interfere in another country's internal affairs are contrary to the interests of the people of this region and should be condemned.

There are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign

policies. However, the two sides agreed that relations between states should be conducted on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of force. It would be against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major country to collude with another against other countries, or to behave in such a way as to suggest that it had an exclusive sphere of interest.

With these principles of international relations in mind the two sides stated that:

-- progress toward the normalization of relations between China and the United States is in the interests of all countries;

-- neither seeks hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony; and

-- neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings directed at other states.

The two sides reviewed the long-standing serious disputes between China and the United States. The Chinese side reaffirmed its position: The Taiwan question is the crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations between the two countries; the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal Government of China; Taiwan is a part of Chinese territory which has long been returned to the motherland; the liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair in which no other country has the right to interfere; and the U.S. troops must withdraw from Taiwan. The Chinese Government firmly opposes any activities which aim at the creation of "one China, one Taiwan", "one China, two governments", "two Chinas", an "independent Taiwan" or advocate that "the status of Taiwan remains to be determined". The U.S. side stated: The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Straits maintain there is but one China; the United States Government does not challenge that position. The United States will support the settlement of the question of the unification of Taiwan and the mainland through peaceful negotiations and will not carry out any activities aimed at separating Taiwan from China. The United States will withdraw

its troops and military installations in Taiwan after it has completed the withdrawal of all the U.S. armed forces from Indochina.

The two sides agreed that pending the normalization of relations between the two countries, the Governments of the two countries would respectively take measures to facilitate the exchange of visits between the two peoples and their contacts in the scientific, technical, journalistic and cultural fields.

The two sides agreed that the U.S. Government will send a senior representative to Peking at irregular intervals for concrete consultations to further the normalization of relations and carry forward negotiations on issues of common interest.

The two sides were gratified to have this opportunity, after so many years without contact between the leaders of their two countries, to present frankly to one another their respective views on a variety of issues. The two sides expressed the hope that the gains achieved during this visit would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries. They believe that the normalization of relations between the two countries is not only in the interest of the Chinese

and American peoples but also contributes to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world.

President Nixon and his party expressed their appreciation for the gracious hospitality shown them by the Government and people of the People's Republic of China.

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PA/HO, Department of State
E.O. 12958, as amended
Date: 6-20-85

Third U.S. Draft
10/25 - 10:00 P.M.

10/25 - evening

DRAFT JOINT COMMUNIQUE

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President Nixon and his party visited Peking and viewed cultural, industrial and agricultural sites, and they also toured _____ and _____ where they, continuing discussions with Chinese leaders, viewed similar places of interest.

During their meetings and talks, the leaders of China and the United States reviewed the international situation in which important changes are taking place and great upheavals exist and expounded their respective positions.

The Chinese side stated that wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want progress -- this has become the irresistible trend of history. It must be recognized that the people of all countries have the right to choose their social systems according to their own wishes and settle the affairs of their respective countries as independent and sovereign nations. All nations, big or small, should be equal; big nations should not bully the small and strong nations should not bully the weak. China will never be a superpower and it opposes hegemony and power politics of any kind. All foreign troops should be withdrawn ~~at~~ to their own country. The Chinese side strongly expressed its firm support to the seven-point proposal for the peaceful settlement of the Vietn Nam question put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples; it firmly supports the eight-point programme for the peaceful unification of Korea put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on April 12, 1971, and the stand for the abolition of the "U. N.

Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea"; it firmly opposes the revival and outward expansion of Japanese militarism and firmly advocates an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan; it firmly opposes anyone exploiting the situation in East Pakistan to interfere in Pakistan's internal affairs, provoke armed conflicts and undermine peace in the Asian subcontinent.

The U. S. side stated that peace in Asia and peace in the world required efforts both to reduce immediate tensions and to eliminate the basic causes of conflict. Countries should treat each other with mutual respect and with a willingness to compete peacefully, letting performance be the ultimate judge. No country should claim infallibility and each country should be prepared to re-examine its own attitudes for the common good. The U.S. side desires to work with others to build a just and secure peace: just because it fulfills the aspirations of peoples and nations for freedom and progress, secure because it removes the danger of foreign aggression. The U.S. supports individual freedom and social progress for all the peoples of the world, free of outside pressure or intervention. The U.S. side stated that the peoples of Indochina should be allowed to determine their destiny without outside intervention; that its constant primary objective has been a negotiated solution of the Indochina conflict to which end it had made a series of proposals; and that in the absence of a negotiated settlement it envisaged the ultimate withdrawal of all U.S.

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forces from the region consistent with the aim of true self-determination for each country of Indochina. The relations between the United States and the Republic of Korea were freely entered into by both sides and the existing commitments would be honored. The U.S. would support all efforts of the Republic of Korea to seek a relaxation of the tension and increased communication in the Korean peninsula. The U.S. placed the highest value on its friendly relations with Japan and it would continue to honor its mutual defense treaty obligations. The U.S. urged India and Pakistan to resolve their differences through peaceful negotiations; all attempts to use armed force to settle international problems are contrary to the interests of the people of this region.

There are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. However, the two sides agreed that countries, irrespective of their social systems, have a common interest in working toward a resolution of international differences in the interest of all mankind. They further agreed that relations between states should be conducted on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of force. The U.S. and the People's Republic of China are prepared to apply these principles to their own relationships.

It would be against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major country to collude with another against other countries, or to behave in such a way as to suggest that it had an exclusive sphere of interest.

With these principles of international relations in mind the two sides stated that:

- both wish to reduce the danger of military conflict;
- progress toward the normalization of relations between China and the United States is in the interests of all countries;
- neither seeks hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony; and
- neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings directed at other states.

The two sides reviewed the long-standing serious disputes between China and the United States. The Chinese side reaffirmed its position: The Taiwan question is the crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations between the two countries; the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal Government of China; Taiwan is a part of Chinese territory which has long been returned to the motherland; the liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair in which no other country has the right to interfere; and the U.S. troops must withdraw from Taiwan. The Chinese Government firmly opposes any activities which aim at the creation of "one China, one Taiwan", "one China, two governments",

"two Chinas", an "independent Taiwan" or advocate that the status of Taiwan remains to be determined."

The U.S. side stated: The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Straits maintain there is but one China. The United States Government does not challenge that position. It will support efforts to reach [an equitable and] peaceful resolution of the ultimate relationship of Taiwan to the mainland. With respect to the U.S. military presence on Taiwan, the U.S. side stated that the U.S. forces would be progressively reduced as tensions in Asia diminished. This would be done without the abandonment of United States interest in a peaceful solution.

The two sides agreed that pending the normalization of relations between the two countries, the Governments of the two countries would respectively take measures to facilitate the exchange of visits between the two peoples and their contacts in the scientific, technical, journalistic and cultural fields.

The two sides agreed that the U.S. Government will send a senior representative to Peking at irregular intervals for concrete consultations for further the normalization of relations and carry forward negotiations on issues of common interest.

The two sides were gratified to have this opportunity, after so many years without contact between the leaders of their two countries, to present frankly to one another their respective views on a variety of

issues. The two sides expressed the hope that the gains achieved during this visit would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries. They believe that the normalization of relations between the two countries is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world.

President Nixon and his party expressed their appreciation for the gracious hospitality shown them by the Government and people of the People's Republic of China.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE (Tentative Draft)

President Richard Nixon of the United States of America visited the People's Republic of China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China from _____ to _____, 1972. Accompanying the President on his visit were (Mrs. Nixon,) U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers and Assistant to the President Dr. Henry A. Kissinger.

President Nixon met with Chairman Mao Tsetung of the Communist Party of China on _____ and _____. The two leaders held conversation for _____ hours and had an exchange of views on Sino-U.S. relations and world affairs.

During the visit, further talks were held between President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai. The two sides held extensive, earnest and frank discussions on the normalisation of relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, as well as on other matters of interest to both sides.

Also taking part in the talks on the Chinese side were:

Also taking part in the talks on the U.S. side were:

President Nixon and his party visited Peking and viewed cultural, industrial and agricultural sites, and they also toured _____ and _____ where they, continuing discussions with Chinese leaders, viewed similar places of interest.

During their meetings and talks, the leaders of China and the United States reviewed the international situation in which important changes are taking place and great upheavals exist and expounded their respective positions and views.

The Chinese side stated that wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want progress --- this has become the irresistible trend of history. It must be recognized that the people of all countries have the right to choose their social systems according to their own wishes and settle the affairs of their respective countries as independent and sovereign nations, and any foreign intervention is absolutely impermissible. All nations, big or small, should be equal; big nations should not bully the small and strong nations should not bully the weak. China will never be a superpower and it opposes hegemony and power politics of any kind. The

Chinese side stated that it firmly supports the struggles of all the oppressed people and nations for freedom and liberation and firmly supports the peoples' right to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their own countries and oppose foreign aggression, interference, control and subversion. All foreign troops should be withdrawn to their own countries. The Chinese side expressed its firm support to the struggle of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia for the attainment of their goal and its firm support to the seven-point proposal for the peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam question put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples; it firmly supports the eight-point programme for the peaceful unification of Korea put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on April 12, 1971 and the stand for the abolition of the "UnN. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea"; it firmly opposes the revival and outward expansion of Japanese militarism and firmly supports the Japanese people's desire to build an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan;

it firmly opposes anyone exploiting the situation in East Pakistan to interfere in Pakistan's internal affairs, provoke armed conflicts and undermine peace in the Asian sub-continent.

The U.S. side stated that peace in Asia and peace in the world required efforts both to reduce immediate tensions and to eliminate the basic causes of conflict. The U.S. side believes that the effort to reduce tension is served by improving communication between countries that have different world outlooks so as to lessen the risks of confrontation through accident, miscalculation or misunderstanding. Countries should treat each other with mutual respect and with a willingness to compete peacefully, letting performance be the ultimate judge. No country should claim infallibility and each country should be prepared to re-examine its own attitudes for the common good. The U.S. side desires to work with others to build a just and secure peace: just because it fulfills the aspirations of peoples and nations for freedom and progress, secure because it removes the danger of foreign aggression. The United States supports individual freedom and social progress for all the peoples of the world, free of outside pressure

or intervention. The U.S. side stated that the peoples of Indochina should be allowed to determine their destiny without outside intervention; that its constant primary objective has been a negotiated solution of the Indochina conflict to which and it had made a series of proposals, and that in the absence of a negotiated settlement it envisaged the ultimate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from the region consistent with the aim of true self-determination for each country of Indochina. The United States would support all efforts of the Republic of Korea to seek a relaxation of the tension and increased communication in the Korean peninsula. The United States placed the highest value on its friendly relations with Japan and it would continue to honor its mutual defense treaty obligations. The United States urged India and Pakistan to resolve their differences through peaceful negotiations; all attempts to use armed force to settle international problems are contrary to the interests of the people of this region.

There are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. However, the two sides agreed that,

countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of force. The United States and the People's Republic of China are prepared to apply these principles to their mutual relations.

It would be against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major country to collude with another against other countries, or to behave in such a way as to suggest that it had an exclusive sphere of interest.

With these principles of international relations in mind the two sides stated that:

-- progress toward the normalization of relations between China and the United States is in the interests of all countries;

-- both wish to reduce the danger of international military conflict;

— neither seeks hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony; and

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The two sides reviewed the long-standing serious disputes between China and the United States. The Chinese side reaffirmed its position: The Taiwan question is the crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations between China and the United States; the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal Government of China; Taiwan is a part of Chinese territory which has long been returned to the motherland; the liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair in which no other country has the right to interfere; and the U.S. troops must withdraw from Taiwan. The Chinese Government firmly opposes any activities which aim at the creation of "one China, one Taiwan", "one China, two governments", "two Chinas", an "independent Taiwan" or advocate that "the status of Taiwan remains to be determined".

The U.S. side declared: The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Straits maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a province of China. The United States Government does not challenge that position; it hopes that the settlement of the Taiwan question consistent with this position will be achieved through peaceful negotiations and states that it will progressively reduce and finally withdraw all the U.S. troops and military installations from Taiwan.

The two sides agreed that pending the normalization of relations between the two countries, the Governments of the two countries would respectively take measures to facilitate the exchange of visits between the two peoples and their contacts in the scientific, technical, journalistic and cultural fields.

The two sides agreed that the U.S. Government will send a senior representative to Peking at irregular intervals for concrete consultations to further the normalization of relations and carry forward negotiations on issues of common interest.

The two sides were gratified to have this opportunity, after so many years without contact between the leaders of their two countries, to present

frankly to one another their respective views on a variety of issues. The two sides expressed the hope that the gains achieved during this visit would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries. They believe that the normalization of relations between the two countries is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world.

President Nixon and his party expressed their appreciation for the gracious hospitality shown them by the Government and people of the People's Republic of China.